

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 STATE 284643
ORIGIN NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 R

66011

DRAFTED BY S/S-O:RGAMBLE

APPROVED BY S/S-O:RGAMBLE

-----003098 292259Z /62

O 292151Z NOV 77 ZFF4

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO WHITE HOUSE IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 284643

NODIS

FOR DR. BRZEZINSKI

FOLLOWING REPEAT BONN 19800 SENT ACTION SECSTATE 29 NOV 77

QUOTE S E C R E T BONN 19800

NODIS

DEPARTMENT PLEASE PASS TO EMBASSIES PARIS AND LONDON

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: FOUR POWER TALKS ON SALT

REF: BONN 19688

BEGIN SUMMARY: THE GERMANS WANT TO USE

THE UPCOMING SALT CONSULTATIONS NOT SO MUCH TO REACH
SUBSTANTIVE AGREEMENT ON ANY PARTICULAR DISARMAMENT
ISSUE BUT TO INITIATE A PROCESS OF CONSULTATIONS. FROM
CONVERSATIONS HERE, IT IS CLEAR THAT THEY WANT TO LEARN
US DISARMAMENT NEGOTIATING POSITIONS IN ADVANCE RATHER
THAN TO BE BRIEFED AFTER OUR TALKS WITH THE SOVIETS.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 STATE 284643

HOWEVER, THE GERMANS DO NOT AT THIS POINT APPEAR TO HAVE
ANY FIXED NOTIONS ON THE SUBSTANCE AND FORM OF FUTURE
TALKS WITH THE SOVIET UNION, AND IT IS DOUBTFUL THAT THEY
WILL DEVELOP ANY BETWEEN NOW AND THE MINISTERIAL. END
SUMMARY.

1. THE POLITICAL DIRECTOR OF THE FRG FOREIGN OFFICE,

KLAUS BLECH, AND THE CHIEF OF THE POLITICAL-MILITARY OFFICE AT THE FRG DEFENSE MINISTRY, GENERAL BRANDT, TOLD THE POLITICAL COUNSELOR TODAY THAT THEY WERE APPROACHING THE BRUSSELS CONSULTATIONS WITH NO FIXED IDEAS ABOUT THE WAY FUTURE DISARMAMENT NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD BE STRUCTURED. BRANDT SAID THAT THE GERMANS HAD STILL NOT COMPLETED THEIR OWN PAPERS DEALING WITH THE RELATIONS BETWEEN SALT, MBFR AND "GRAY AREA". NEGOTIATIONS. HE INTIMATED THAT THEY HAD NO EXPECTATION OF COMPLETING THE PAPER SOON.

2. TURNING TO THE PURPOSE OF THE UPCOMING QUADRIPARTITE CONSULTATIONS, BRANDT SAID THAT IT SEEMED TO HIM THAT THE SINGLE MOST IMPORTANT GERMAN OBJECTIVE IN THOSE CONSULTATIONS WOULD BE TO OBTAIN FOUR-POWER AGREEMENT THAT THE VARIOUS DISARMAMENT ISSUES ARE LINKED. HE SAID THE FRG WOULD NOT EXPECT TO REACH AGREEMENT ON HOW THOSE LINKS COULD BEST BE TAKEN INTO CONSIDERATION IN OUR NEGOTIATING FORMULAS.

3. BRANDT ADDED THAT THE GERMANS REGARDED SOME ISSUES AS MORE URGENT AND IMPORTANT THAN OTHERS. FOR EXAMPLE, HE THOUGHT THE GERMANS WOULD BE MOST INTERESTED IN COMMON DISCUSSION OF SALT II AND SALT III AS WELL AS OF THE STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES LINKING THOSE TWO NEGOTIATIONS. OF LESSER URGENCY, HE THOUGHT, WERE SUCH
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 STATE 284643

ITEMS AS THE "GRAY AREAS" AND THE ENHANCED RADIATION WEAPON.

4. BLECH EXPRESSED A SIMILAR FEELING. HE SAID THAT, OF THE TALKING POINTS ACCOMPANYING THE PRESIDENT'S LETTER TO CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT, THE FRG WAS MOST INTERESTED IN THE QUESTION OF PRINCIPLES FOR THE SALT TALKS. THEY ALSO ARE CONCERNED, BLECH SAID, ABOUT THE NON-CIRCUMVENTION, NON-TRANSFER PROBLEM, ALTHOUGH HE MADE NO SPECIFIC SUGGESTIONS ABOUT IT.

5. BRANDT SAID THERE WOULD BE A MEETING OF THE FEDERAL SECURITY COUNCIL TODAY. HE SAID THE MEETING HAD BEEN SCHEDULED EARLIER BUT WOULD ALMOST CERTAINLY DISCUSS THE PRESIDENT'S LETTER. IT SHOULD ALSO TRY TO REACH AGREEMENT ON THE CHANCELLOR'S RESPONSE TO THAT LETTER. HOWEVER, HE SAID IT WAS NOT AT ALL CERTAIN THAT THE GERMAN STAFFING HAD PROCEEDED TO THE POINT WHERE A REPLY COULD BE DRAFTED.

6. FROM VARIOUS COMMENTS, IT WAS ALSO CLEAR THAT NEITHER BRANDT NOR BLECH HAVE ANY FIXED NOTIONS ABOUT WHETHER

THE "GRAY AREA" NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD BE HANDLED IN A SEPARATE CHANNEL OR INCLUDED IN SALT OR MBFR. BLECH SAID HE THOUGHT MBFR WOULD BE BAD BECAUSE OF THE AREA LIMITATIONS OF THE NGA, BUT HE HAD NO SPECIFIC IDEAS OF HOW TO HANDLE THE TALKS.

7. COMMENT: THE GERMANS, IN ADDRESSING THESE DISARMAMENT ISSUES, ARE WRESTLING WITH COMPLEXITIES OUTSIDE THEIR OWN FAMILIAR THINKING. THEY FELT COMFORTABLE SO LONG AS SALT I DEALT ONLY WITH CENTRAL STRATEGIC SYSTEMS AND EXCLUDED FBS. AS SALT II BEGAN TO TOUCH ON WHAT THEY PERCEIVED AS THEIR MORE DIRECT INTERESTS -- ESPECIALLY IN THE AREA OF CRUISE MISSILES -- THEY FOUND THEMSELVES CONTEMPLATING RELATIONSHIPS THAT
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 STATE 284643

THEY HAD NOT PREVIOUSLY CONSIDERED. EVEN THE NPG DISCUSSIONS, WIDE-RANGING AS THEY MAY BE, HAVE NOT FULLY PREPARED THE GERMANS TO APPRECIATE ALL THE COMPLEXITIES OF THE ISSUES WE NOW FACE.

8. MOREOVER, THE GERMANS STILL SHOW A CERTAIN DEFERENCE TO US IN ADDRESSING STRATEGIC MATTERS. THEY CLEARLY DO NOT WANT TO BLOCK SALT AND THEY RECOGNIZE THE PRIMACY OF OUR STRATEGIC INTERESTS. THIS ADDS TO THEIR UNCERTAINTY IN COMING UP WITH ANSWERS TO ISSUES THEY HAVE THEMSELVES POSED.

9. IT COULD BE SAID, THOUGH WE ARE NOT SURE IT WILL REMAIN SO, THAT THE GERMANS MAY NOT KNOW WHAT THEY WANT BUT THEY DEFINITELY KNOW WHAT THEY DO NOT

WANT. THEY DO NOT WANT TO FIND THAT THE EUROPEAN BALANCE IS AFFECTED BY NEGOTIATIONS IN WHICH THEY PLAY NO ROLE OR IN WHICH THEY HAVE NO VOICE.

10. AS AN ILLUSTRATION OF THIS, THE GERMANS HAVE NOT BEEN ABLE TO OFFER US ANY CLEAR SUGGESTIONS, EVEN AT THE WORKING AND PLANNING LEVEL, WHETHER THEY FAVORED INTRODUCING THE "GRAY AREA" SYSTEMS INTO SALT, MBFR, OR A THIRD VENUE. HOWEVER, THEY HAVE MADE ABUNDANTLY CLEAR THAT THEY NO LONGER WISH TO SEE ANY OF THESE NEGOTIATIONS TREATED IN ISOLATION FROM THE OTHERS.

11. SUBJECT TO WHATEVER MAY EMERGE FROM TODAY'S FEDERAL SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING, ON WHICH WE HOPE TO REPORT BEFORE THE MINISTERIAL, THIS SUGGESTS THAT THE
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 05 STATE 284643

MOST EFFECTIVE U.S. RESENTATION AT THE QUADRIpartite CONSULTATIONS WOULD BE A BROAD EXPLANATION OF THE DIRECTION IN WHICH WE WANT TO GO COUPLED WITH ANY SPECIFICS WE MAY HAVE ELABORATED ON HOW THE VARIOUS ARMS NEGOTIATIONS ARE LINKED IN OUR OWN MINDS. WE WOULD NOT EXPECT THAT THE FRG WOULD OPPOSE OUR OWN FORMULAS BUT WOULD IN THE FIRST INSTANCE GENERALLY BE INCLINED TO ACCEPT THEM TO THE DEGREE TO WHICH THEY OFFERED AVENUES FOR COMMON CONSULTATION.

12. IT IS NOT YET CLEAR, AND MAY NOT BE FOR SOME TIME, WHETHER THE FRG WISHES TO SHARE IN THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR FORMULATING SPECIFIC POSITIONS OR REACHING SPECIFIC DECISIONS. OUR IMPRESSION AT THIS POINT IS THAT GERMANS WOULD NOT BE INCLINED TO PUSH IN THAT DIRECTION UNLESS THEY FELT THAT THE CONSULTATION PROCESS HAS NOT TAKEN APPROPRIATE ACCOUNT OF THEIR OWN SPECIFIC INTERESTS. WE CANNOT, OF COURSE, BE CERTAIN THAT THIS WILL LAST ONCE THE GERMANS BECOME MORE FAMILIAR WITH THE ISSUES AND MORE PRECISELY AWARE OF HOW THOSE ISSUES COULD AFFECT THEM. END COMMENT.
STOESSEL.
UNQUOTE VANCE".

SECRET

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: CAT-B, DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS, MEETINGS, SALT (ARMS CONTROL), NEGOTIATIONS, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 29-Nov-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 22 May 2009
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977STATE284643
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: O:RGAMBLE
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: N770008-0371
Format: TEL
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions:
Image Path:
ISecure: 2
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t1977117/aaaaafot.tel
Line Count: 198
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: c00b121c-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ORIGIN NODS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Reference: 77 BONN 19688
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 05-Apr-2005 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 624681
Secure: LOCK1
Status: NATIVE
Subject: FOUR POWER TALKS ON SALT
TAGS: PARM, GE, US, FR, UK, NATO
To: WHITE HOUSE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/c00b121c-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009